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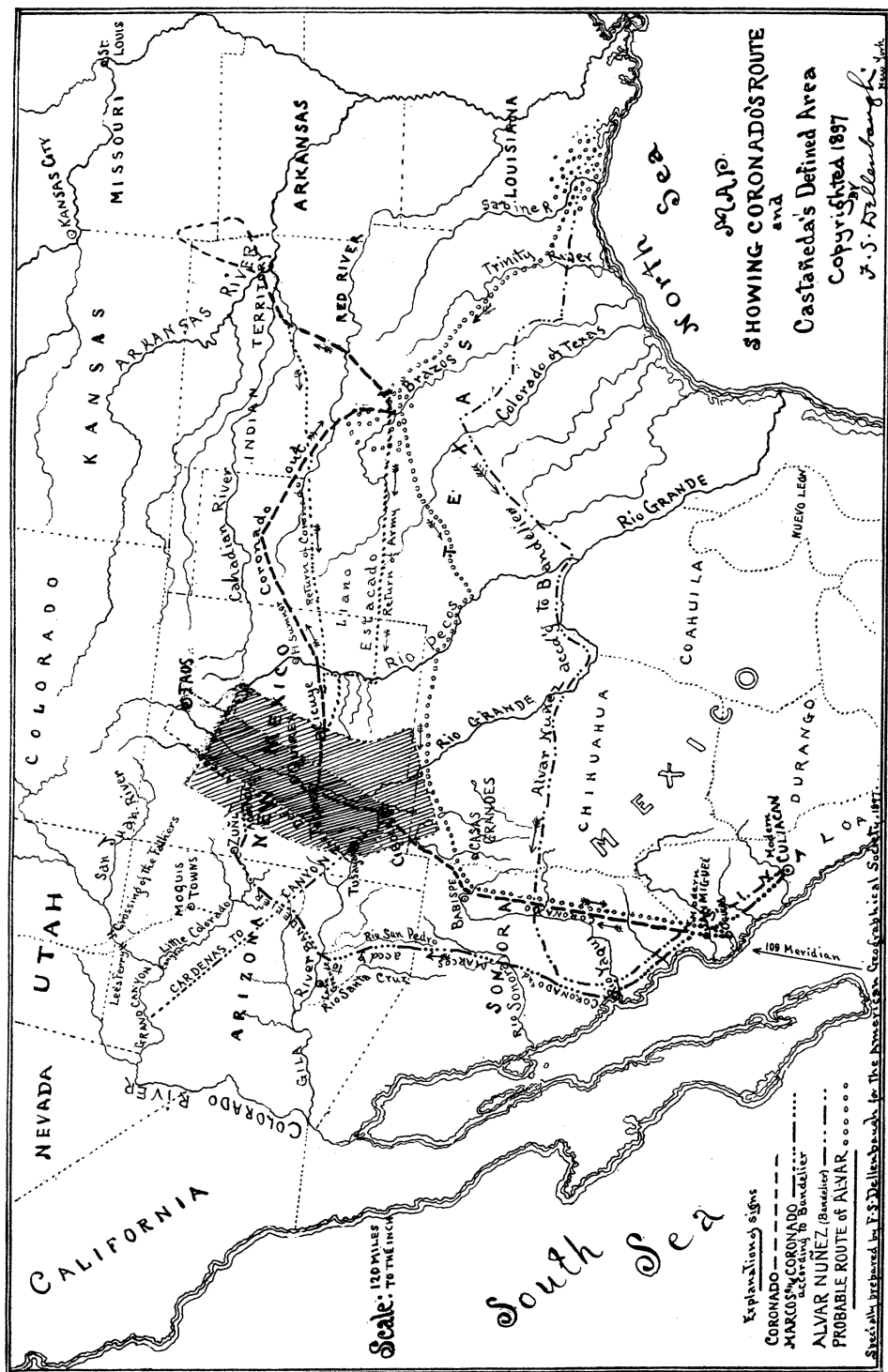
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THE TRUE ROUTE OF CORONADO'S MARCH.*

BY

F. S. DELLENBAUGH.

Since the great voyage of Columbus, the Europeans have not rested in their endeavor to explore the world, and leave no part unknown. Our own century has exhibited this spirit as powerfully as any gone before, but each year the field has grown narrower, and before long all terra incognita will have vanished. The widest opportunity belonged to the men of the sixteenth century, for, a limitless blank, the New World lay before them. Columbus unlocked the treasure, and a mighty host rushed in to help themselves to gold and glory. With a magnificent Unknown looming thus suddenly above the horizon like an enchanted vision, small wonder that bold men turned there to retrieve, or gain, a fortune; and Cortes set them all a dazzling example. After his discovery and conquest of the town-building Aztec Indians of Mexico, with their wealth of precious metals, it required no unusual imagination to develop an expectation of greater discoveries, or, at least, a repetition of this one, in the regions yet untrod. Then came the tale of Pizarro's exploits, adding their lustre to the marvellous record. If a New World with its Mexico and Peru, why not further astonishments? So it came about that Mexico, or New Spain as it was called, was chosen as a base of operations by scores of daring knights eager to add glory to their names and lucre to their purses, and some of the most illustrious families of Spain were represented in this fascinating field. Whatever the faults of the Spaniard, cowardice certainly was not one of them, and fear had no part in directing his course on either side of the Atlantic.

But the right of exploration was a royal privilege and not every one was permitted to engage in this fascinating occupation; bravery in itself therefore counted for little. Attention was specially directed about the middle of the sixteenth century toward the northern field and there was rivalry in efforts to gain Crown concessions for exploration in that direction. But Cortes claimed all rights to northward of the Aztec territory indefinitely. Guzman, his bitter foe, Governor of New Galicia, ignored these claims and pushed an unauthorized and brutal conquest as far up as the pres-

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ent State of Sonora, at the same time doing his utmost to annoy and thwart the man who had so superbly broken the path through the Aztec realm.

The misrepresentations, the evidences of cruelty and injustice and misrule, now caused the Emperor to make a radical change in the method of governing the new country; instead of captains-general and presidents, and audiencias, he created the imperial office of Viceroy, and then induced to occupy the post a man of distinguished family and high integrity—Antonio de Mendoza. This officer proceeded to oppose himself to both Cortes and Guzman, though Cortes certainly merited more consideration than he had ever yet received from the Crown officers; or from the Crown itself.

Stories of Amazons and gold in the north had lured Guzman on. Tales related to him while he was President of New Spain, by an Indian slave of his, had added to the allurements not a little. This man told how he, as a child, had travelled with his father, a trader in plumes, far into the interior where there were seven large towns as great as Mexico, and abundance of gold and silver. This appeared to confirm rumors of rich populations in the north that had grown in importance with frequent repetition. But Guzman's operations discovered nothing of special wonder, proving that so far as the region he had explored was concerned little ready-made wealth could be expected. A special agent named Torre was sent over from Spain to arrest Guzman and supplant him as Governor of the province. This was in 1536.

Torre arrested Guzman while the latter was on a visit to the City of Mexico and he was in prison for nearly two years, when he was allowed to depart for Spain. There he lived neglected for some six years and died. Torre, a wise and humane man, had meanwhile established himself as Governor in Guzman's stead of the vast territory north of Mexico called New Galicia.

Near the end of 1538 Governor Torre was killed by a fall from his horse while in pursuit of Indians, and the office was open for a third occupant. The Viceroy appointed a friend of his, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who at that time held a minor office under him, Governor in Torre's place, the appointment receiving Royal confirmation bearing date, April 18th, 1539.

Coronado was a native of Salamanca, and it is not known how long he had been in New Spain, nor is anything of his previous life known. But in New Spain, besides being a favorite with Mendoza, and an official under him, Coronado had the distinction, and the

prestige of being the son-in-law of Estrada, the Royal treasurer; a relationship that must have been of immense advantage to him in many ways. Estrada and Mendoza were in complete harmony. Cortes charged that Mendoza had taken the town of Jalapa from the Crown revenues and granted it to the wife of Estrada on condition that it should go to Coronado as the marriage dot of the daughter Beatrice. However this may have been, it is certain that Mendoza had a warm regard for the new Governor of New Galicia, and that the Governor was more than well off in wordly goods. Indeed he was a wealthy man. His new office gave him also an annual salary of 1,000 ducats, with 500 more to be taken from the provincial revenues. It should be added in justice to Mendoza, that the town which the wife of Estrada received was compensation for another of which she had been wrongfully deprived by the Audiencia.

Coronado's age is nowhere mentioned, but as he had only recently been married and had not before been heard of, it is probable that he was not over thirty. His public career was brief and brilliant. Less than ten years cover his known life.

When Coronado departed for his new post, at the end of 1538,* there went with him a man, also destined to link his name forever to the country, still lying a silent mystery in the far north. The companion of Coronado on this journey to New Galicia, was a Franciscan monk, called Marcos of Niza. He was an Italian, hailing from Nice (Spanish, Niza), hence the name, the only one by which he is known. Marcos was to make a reconnoitring expedition into that far-away incognito at the north, under the Viceroy's orders. With him, as companions, were another monk and a negro, named Estéban; a negro with a history. This Estéban had recently passed through a remarkable experience. Together with three Spaniards, all four being survivors of the wrecked Narvaez expedition, lost near the mouth of the Mississippi, he had wandered about in the interior for eight years, till the party at last succeeded in finding the west coast of Mexico and their countrymen. They had appeared as from the dead, in 1536, and Alvar Nuñez, the head of the party, told the tale of their fearful exile. Alvar Nuñez seems not to have exaggerated his story, and his description of the country and the Indians corresponds with what is known to-day. He is supposed not to have seen any pueblo towns, because he does not exclaim over their grandeur as the monk

* He went before the commission was confirmed.

Marcos did later, and because his route has been traced well south through Texas, and through Mexico below the line of the United States, and below the supposed southern limit in 1540 of the house-dwelling Indians. But this limit of the pueblos was possibly much further south in 1540 than has generally been supposed, further than Bandelier and others have allowed. Again Alvar and his companions may easily have come further north than Bandelier allows. Alvar certainly mentions houses that are suspiciously like the pueblo structures,* and it must be borne in mind that he was so familiar with the Indian that he would not have been carried away by enthusiasm when he happened to meet with some of them dwelling in more permanent houses. Though he seems to have told a straight story, it is probable that Estéban did not, and it would seem that in connection with Marcos, Estéban laid the foundation for the huge misrepresentations that led to this preliminary expedition, and also to the following one under Coronado.

Núñez had returned to Spain, therefore Marcos and Estéban had a clear field. The instigation of the Soto expedition, to the Mississippi region, is, by some writers, attributed to the exaggerations of Alvar Núñez, but in view of the sober narrative from his hand that has come down to us, this charge appears unjust. Estéban and the scheming monk must be regarded as the main source of the tales of marvellous cities and treasure to northward, in the region which the exiles had skirted. In view of the monk's subsequent conduct and statements, this accusation cannot be considered unmerited. Much that he related, to be sure, was what he heard, or claimed to have heard, but as he could not have clearly understood the language of the natives, it is plain that he gave the account his own colouring.

It was about two years after the return of the Alvar Núñez party to civilization, that Marcos started (1539) with Estéban on the now famous reconnaissance. His instructions were to visit and report on the wonderful towns that were said to lie in the far, mysterious north. If successful in his journey and the towns were found to be as important as rumor indicated, a large expedition was to follow up the discovery, in which happy event the ambitious friar would certainly be brought into special prominence, with fine chances for ecclesiastical preferment; the stepping-stone, it might be, to still higher seats. The route he is generally credited with following is marked on the accompanying map. While with Alvar

* *Relacion of Alvar Núñez*, translated into French by Ternaux-Compans and into English by Buckingham Smith.

Núñez on the memorable journey, the negro Estéban had always informed himself about the route and all matters pertaining to the country and the inhabitants,* so it is certain that he would be entirely able to follow back on their incoming trail as far as the point where Marcos expected to turn more northward in the direction of the supposed great cities. The uncertainty of the route followed by the party of exiles precludes the present determination by that means of that followed by Marcos and his negro guide, but I feel sure that it has, for all parties, usually been drawn too far to the west.

At a certain place on the journey they began to receive accounts of the Seven Cities of Cibola, far to the northward, and Estéban was sent ahead to investigate. He returned frequent word of the increasing wonders of which he was on the threshold. All now seemed on the side of the bold friar, yet disaster was in store for him. Estéban was killed at the very first of the Cibola towns. The monk therefore dared go no nearer than a hilltop, from which he was able to obtain, so he claimed, a view of the town, which he afterward described in glowing language. Hastily retreating, Marcos arrived again safely in New Galicia, and told his story to Governor Coronado with such good effect that the Governor started with him for the capital where an interview, or rather a conference, was had with the Viceroy. Many disappointments that followed would have been avoided, probably, if Marcos had described things as they were, without the color of his imagination, but he chose the other course. Some degree of secrecy was maintained regarding this tale, but it transpired soon that he had spoken of great marvels and wealth in the far country he had visited. Visions of a second Aztec treasure, then immediately occupied all minds. Cortes, however, ridiculed the priest's statements and declared the holy explorer had seen nothing; but had made up the story from what he had learned of Cortes's own northern exploits. Castañeda,† writing twenty years later, states that Marcos arrived no nearer to Cibola than sixty leagues, which would be 20 leagues north of the place called Chichilticale. The point derives additional interest, because it lies between Alvar Núñez, Marcos, and Coronado, as to which was the first European to enter the present bounds of New

* "Le nègre était toujours chargé de s'entendre avec eux; c'était lui qui prenait des informations sur la route que nous voulions suivre, sur les peuplades, et sur tout ce que nous voulions savoir."—TERNAUX-COMPANS, p. 246.

† Pedro de Castañeda de Najera, a member of Coronado's expedition in a capacity not stated.

Mexico. Through his eagerness to achieve grand results and thus assure the organization of the great expedition which would bring him preferment and added distinction, the monk doubtless somewhat deceived himself, not only in the importance of the towns, but perhaps also in the distance travelled. At any rate the account he now rendered to the Viceroy and Coronado, was sufficient to cause them to organize the grand party of exploration with considerable alacrity. Marcos, through the Viceroy's influence, was now raised to Provincial of the Order, so that rewards for his labors were beginning. While Mendoza promoted the enterprise, he seems not to have had any great enthusiasm over it. The explorations of Cortes and of Guzman in the north country had probably indicated to his shrewd mind just about what might be expected in that quarter, yet he was willing to further the exploration in the hope that something rich might be found as the priest said, and for the purpose of clearing away as far as possible the northern mystery.

In one of Coronado's letters to the Viceroy this attitude is indicated. He remarks, when the army was disappointed, that the things "whereof the father had made so great bragges should be found so contrary, . . . I sought to encourage them the best I could, telling them that your lordship always was of opinion that this voyage was a thing cast away."* There were men of discretion and judgment in those days as well as now, and Mendoza was undoubtedly one of them. His whole career certainly is against the usual assumption that he lost his head over the friar's report. Indeed, the impression conveyed by many writers that all the Spaniards of the sixteenth century were mere wealth-hunters, dazzled to the verge of insanity by schemes of conquest, is erroneous. Still, there were many fortune-hunters in New Spain, and possibilities were fully recognized by all, so when the expedition to the north was proposed, men rushed to the venture with expectant celerity. Some of the finest cavaliers of the country joined the ranks, till Coronado, who was chosen by the Viceroy as general, speedily found himself at the head of an army of 300 Spaniards, many of whom were noblemen of so high degree, that their rank in the expedition was something of an embarrassment to not only Coronado, but to the Viceroy, in arranging the order of command.

Both these men, however, possessed tact and administrative ability, and the matter was successfully settled by making the prin-

* From Hakluyt's translation of Coronado's letter. The strange spelling is not retained. Winship gives this passage, "Your lordship had always thought that this part of the trip would be a waste of effort."—WINSHIP, p. 553.

cipal cavaliers captains, each with an independent company, while the 800 Indians and all the other Spaniards were directly subject to Coronado's orders. This arrangement, while not being the most desirable one, seems to have been the best that could be accomplished. Undoubtedly it was the cause of some of Coronado's lack of control in several instances, where officers executed orders in a brutal way that never could have been intended by the general, who was a man of mild manners. His orders were executed, but not always, it would seem, exactly to his taste.

When the army assembled at Compostela, the place where the Government of New Galicia was then installed, Mendoza caused every man to swear, on a holy missal, obedience to the general. In no other way could the high-born cavaliers, bound by no military law, be held to submit themselves to the orders of one whom they considered in no way entitled to command them, except by the preference of the Viceroy. Coronado met the difficulties of the situation at all times, it seems to me, with rare skill and patience. He carried the command through without a rupture, or even a quarrel, under the most trying conditions; and notwithstanding the bitter disappointments, men and officers respected and even loved him to the end. The most that Castañeda can do is to charge him with a desire to return to his wife and children at the end of the two years, instead of pushing further into the wilderness.

Some complaint having been made that this expedition was depriving the colonies of needed men, an investigation was held by which it appeared that the army was largely composed of recent arrivals from the Old World, well-born, but poor. Only two citizens of Mexico, and two of Guadalajara, were to be discovered in the ranks, while Compostela furnished none. But all the men were eager to go with the great undertaking, and were not likely to allow an inconvenient residence in any town to interfere if they could prevent, nor is it probable that the investigation was made searching enough to interfere with Coronado's plans. Castañeda speaks with great enthusiasm of the make-up of the army, saying that "they had on this expedition the most brilliant company ever collected in the Indies to go in search of new lands."* This army

* Winship, p. 477. "The Coronado Expedition," by George Parker Winship, in the 14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. By the courtesy of Mr. Winship, and of Mr. Hodge of the Bureau of Ethnology, I was furnished with a separate copy of this paper before the report appeared,—and some three months after my paper was first read before this society. I have revised my first writing since, because Mr. Winship's translation in the main is more accurate than Ternaux's, and I had then a copy of the Castañeda text at hand for constant comparison.

started about the last of February, 1540, according to a letter written by Mendoza to the King, but Castañeda places the start a little later in the year, and his year-dates, all the way through, are a whole twelvemonth in advance. This may have been an error in the copying of the original manuscript, that which is now owned by the Lenox Library, and which bears date 1596, being the copy; the original, if in existence, is unknown. In all other respects the copy appears to be an accurate transcript of a remarkably careful statement of the incidents, and route of the great march from Mexico to the Mississippi Valley. The other chief sources are Coronado's letters, the narrative of one of the captains, Juan Jaramillo, and several documents that were written later than these by various hands.* In the list of officers which Castañeda gives, neither he nor Jaramillo are mentioned. Both were men of education and intelligent observation. Castañeda wrote his narrative twenty years after the return while he was living in Culiacan, and Jaramillo also wrote after the return, and with less fullness. He was a soldier of wide travel and experience, having visited most of the countries of Europe, in the service of the Spanish monarch.

With great splendor and high hopes the army pushed out toward Culiacan, the last outpost of European life, and the Viceroy, to give them Godspeed, rode himself for two whole days at the head. One of the most interesting and picturesque sights ever beheld on this continent, was this long and motley cavalcade. In glittering armor and shining helmets rode the dashing cavaliers, their warrior costume and martial bearing enhanced by contrast with the sombre robes of the Franciscan monks, and these in turn made conspicuous by the surrounding throng of soldiery in 16th century costume, arquebusiers, cross-bowmen and gunners, hundreds of half-naked Indians, and droves of cattle and sheep, all moving under the superb Mexican sky, across a landscape of rich and varied color.

But the army was overloaded with baggage, many men knew little about packing a horse, and difficulties soon began to appear. Much baggage was thrown away, and doubtless many an officer cast to the earth his pretty armor to lighten his burden.

San Miguel de Culiacan, their immediate destination, was the same place from which the bold Marcos had departed the year before, and he evidently now meant to lead them over the identical route which he and the negro had followed. The exact location of this place is of the first importance. It has generally been iden-

* See "Critical Essay on the Sources of Information," by Henry W. Haynes, p. 502, Vol. II., *Narrative and Critical History of America*.

tified with the modern town of Culiacan. I believe this is an error, for the reason that the route which Castañeda says they followed from this point, cannot be laid down from modern Culiacan. We reach the high mountains too soon and are taken too far east. The course followed, Castañeda states, from Culiacan, "kept the north on the left hand."* In other words, from this place, called Culiacan in 1540, to the edge of the "wilderness," the route was slightly *northeast*. Now, we have either got to follow Castañeda's directions in tracing the route, or we must throw him out and draw it where we think it ought to go to fit our notions of the line of march. If we throw him out, we may accept the course heretofore marked, following the coast *northwestward* for a very great distance before turning north, and then keeping a slightly *northwest* trend far up into Arizona, but I prefer to accept Castañeda's statement, and follow it exactly. Otherwise we are likely to go astray on the start, and it is probable that it is right here that what seems to me the heretofore erroneous charting of Coronado's trail began. Having made a wrong start, the error ran through the whole reckoning. I assume, therefore, that the Culiacan of to-day was not the San Miguel de Culiacan of 1540, but that this place was further up the coast, not far from where the 109th meridian intersects the sea, or in the neighborhood of a town now called San Miguel.† From here it is possible to lay out a route that fits well the requirements. It must be remembered that this San Miguel de Culiacan was the merest outpost at that time, and that in the following years names of towns and rivers underwent many and confusing changes.‡ If, then, we can chart a route that accords with the directions, by coming up the coast from the modern Culiacan, it is pretty good evidence that we are nearer the truth than at the other place. Furthermore, it will be seen that by a back check from my location of Cibola and the "edge of the wilderness," the site of the starting point should be placed about as I have stated. That is, if the route from Culiacan was east of north, the route from Cibola and the

* "Depuis Culiacan on avait toujours marché en laissant le nord un peu vers la gauche." TERNAUX, p. 163. "From Culiacan to the edge of the wilderness the route had kept the north on the left hand." WINSHIP, p. 517. The *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 573, WINSHIP, gives the route from Culiacan to Cibola as *two* directions, *north* to a certain point, and then *N.E.*

† On Rand, McNally & Co.'s map, of 1892.

‡ The Villa de San Miguel was founded by Guzman in 1530, on a site unidentified, and was moved the next year, and finally at an unknown date, according to H. H. Bancroft, moved to or near the present site of Culiacan.—*Northern Mex. States*, p. 38.

"edge of the wilderness" should be west of south, and so, according to my reckoning, it does fall.

Starting, then, say from about the present town of San Miguel, and marking a course slightly east of north, as Castañeda directs, the trail falls between the 109th meridian and the Sierra Madre, an entirely feasible road.

From Culiacan Coronado went ahead with a picked band of some fifty men, leaving the army to follow more leisurely. Castañeda remained with the main body. This advance party had a hard time of it. Though they "carried none other needful apparel that was above a pound weight, we were driven to our shifts, and no marvayle because the way is rough and long, and with the carriage of our harquebuses down the mountains and hills and in the passages of rivers, the greater part of our corn was spoiled." *

Meanwhile, the sea expedition under Alarcon, which had been sent up the coast to coöperate with the land party, was led further and further away by the configuration of the land, and became useless so far as any help to Coronado was concerned. It achieved important results, however, of its own, in the discovery of the Rio del Tizon, the Colorado of the West of to-day.

Coronado's journey led him through "exceeding rough mountains," and he was "much grieved" because Marcos had said "that the way was plain and good and that there was but one small hill of half a league in length." "And yet, in truth there are mountains, which although the way were well mended, could not be passed without great danger of breaking the horses necks." †

They were following up the longitudinal valleys lying between the 109th meridian and the Sierra. They crossed a number of streams, among them the eastern branch of the Yaqui, which was their Yaquemi, and also a little creek they named *Señora*, a branch of the Yaqui, since perverted into *Sonora* and incorrectly identified with the present Sonora River. Four days from here they reached a stream called Nexpa, and heretofore identified with the Rio Santa Cruz or the Rio San Pedro, flowing into Arizona. The Nexpa flowed in a northerly direction, and as the route heretofore has been traced up the present Sonora River it was necessary to go further north for a stream flowing in the right direction. But the *upper* part of the *west* branch of the present *Yaqui* flows northerly and northwesterly before making the great bend to the south, and is right in the correct line of the march. It was to this stream, therefore, and not to the Santa Cruz, that Coronado went from the Señora. The

* Hakluyt.

† Hakluyt.

Yaqui to-day is little known and has a new name at each important bend. This method of distributing names along its banks seems to have begun in Coronado's day. By taking this branch as the Nexpa we are able to hold to Castañeda's statement of direction, and also to follow pretty accurately the course described by Jaramillo. The latter travelled much more rapidly than Castañeda, and was much more fatigued, hence some rivers he mentions did not appear of the same importance to the slower moving column. It was a flood time when Jaramillo passed through the northern part of the route before reaching Cibola, so small streams appeared more important than they really were. Following the Nexpa down for two days, Coronado turned to the right to a range of mountains called Chichilticale, and spoken of by Castañeda in several places as the Cordillera. This was probably the main Sierra Madre. Coronado was now in the neighborhood of the modern town of Babispe, where to-day a trail goes over the range by the Pass of Carretas, from piney slopes to barren wastes. Somewhere in this region Coronado passed over the barrier.* Here was the end and beginning of the mountains so distinctly noted by Castañeda. "At Chichilticale," he says, "the country ceases to be covered with spiny trees and changes its aspect."† Mr. Bandelier says, "From the heights of Cuesta Grande, where the last ascent is made, we gaze as it were upon another world. . . . On the crest the view changes, and in place of deep mountain gorges, a broad level stretches to the east, bleak, bare and solemn."‡ Castañeda says, "It is at Chichilticale that the mountains end and the desert begins." They had to cross these mountains to get to the level country. Here was where the "wilderness" began.§ From here on the country was unoccupied, till they reached Cibola.

This was the end of what I term the Mexican Mountain Division of the journey. The exploration from my standpoint resolves itself into three general divisions. First, the Mexican Mountain Division; second, the Río Grande Valley Division; and third, the Buffalo Plains Division.

This first division was separated from the second by a decided change in the aspect and vegetation, as noted by Castañeda

* About lat. $30^{\circ}30'$, long. $108^{\circ}35'$.

† Ternaux, p. 160; Winship, p. 516. "Spiny" or "spikey" could not have referred to cacti, for these grew (Win., p. 515) in the Cibola wilderness. It may have meant the palm or the long-leaved pine.

‡ Part II Report.

§ Winship, pp. 480 and 482.

and confirmed by the actual topography of the region. Jaramillo says, "Leaving the stream (the Nexpa) we went to the right to the foot of the Cordillera." He must have referred here to the main Sierra which to-day, from Guadalajara to the north boundary of Mexico, is crossed by no wagon road.

Meanwhile provisions were scarce with the invaders. The maize in the fields was not yet ripe, and the natives through the Mexican Mountain Division had few stores. The soldiers, therefore, were lean and hungry. Heavily, also, disappointment rested on them, for Melchior Diaz, who had been sent ahead with a reconnoitring party, had met them some distance back with a doleful report. The outlook was black and the friar's glorious tale began to look the gilded bubble that it was. But he made the light to shine again by fixing their minds upon the wonderful Cibola still before them which Diaz had not reached. "We all conceived great grief," says Coronado, "and were not a little confounded when we found everything contrary to the information which he (Marcos) had given to your lordship."* And well they might, for on reaching the Chichilticalli† or Red House so highly extolled, it was found to be but a single large ruin and no town at all. It is this that makes it seem as if the monk had either gone astray or had never even reached before as far as this Red House. It is quite possible that, not knowing the country, and being without Estéban's guidance, the monk may have lost his way, and so have guided Coronado by a different trail than the one he had before followed.

Chichilticalli has usually been identified with the ruins near Florence, Arizona, known as *Casa Grande*, the accepted route of the army lying that way, and Mr. Bandelier seems to have been the only one before this to even suggest that the ruin called *Casas Grandes* in Chihuahua was equally accessible to the general, and therefore might have been Chichilticale. The clue was followed no further than to state that Coronado might possibly have passed due north from Casas Grandes into New Mexico. As this would have necessitated a northwest course then to arrive at Zuñi, for Cibola, the idea was dropped, and Bandelier finally placed Chichilticale in the neighborhood of Camp Grant in Arizona. The true site is probably not many miles from the Chihuahua ruin. I am inclined to think it was a ruin of which we have as yet had no description.

Coronado, according to my drawing of the route, was now on the east side of the Sierra Madre, and had entered what I term the

* Hakluyt.

† Also spelled Chichilticale.

second or Rio Grande division of his journey, a division extending as far as the most northerly place reached on the river, the pueblo of Valladolid. There is a great change on crossing the Sierra Madre. "One finds the landscape so different from what it was on the western flanks of the Sierra Madre" says Bandelier of this locality. "There are no trees, only grass and cactuses covering the dreary plain." Such was the region that the weak and staggering followers of Coronado, and the banner of Hope, were now entered upon, and which Castañeda describes as the desert or unoccupied land. The contrast with the forests and streams of the mountains just behind was truly striking.

By the time that Coronado was nearing the Cibola province his men were in a desperate condition for want of food. Anxiously they peered ahead through the waste stretches for the promised cities where food and wealth were said to wait for all of them. The direction followed was now somewhat more northeasterly than before crossing the Cordillera, sometimes through barren mountains, sometimes through an oasis of pine forest, the country as a whole gradually rising as they proceeded northward. Passing northward to-day from the State of Chihuahua the traveller finds this rising feature a marked one. From the last camp before reaching Cibola, they departed, says Coronado, "in so great want of victuals that I thought that if we should stay one day longer without food we should all perish for hunger, especially the Indians, for among us all we had not two bushels of corn."*

They had now crossed the boundary of New Mexico, and arrived presently at a red and turbulent stream which Jaramillo (who gives more attention to the streams crossed than any one else) calls the Bermejo, or Vermilion. This heretofore has been identified with the Colorado Chiquito, or Little Colorado, and the Rio Zuñi, a branch. I think it was the Rio Mimbres, in the vicinity of the Florida Mountains. As it was red and turbulent, it is plain the stream was in flood. This indicates a rainy time, also indicated by the fact that at one of the previous streams, which Jaramillo says was rising, they were obliged to cross on rafts. The point I would call attention to here is that as the men were fagged and weary, and the streams at flood, more importance was given by Jaramillo to some of these streams than they would have received under normal circumstances. Castañeda, indeed, who came along leisurely with the main army when the rains apparently had ceased and the streams had either dried up entirely or had returned to their ordinary depth,

* Hakluyt.

hardly notices any stream in this locality. It is a region also where the streams sink in lakes, or by gradual disappearance. It is an inland basin.

Jaramillo makes a curious statement regarding these rivers. "All the waterways we found as far as this one at Cibola—and I do not know but what for a day or two beyond—the rivers and streams run into the South Sea, and those from here on into the North Sea."* Just what he means by this is not entirely clear to me, but he is believed to mean that all the rivers as far as Cibola ran into the Pacific and beyond that into the Gulf of Mexico, these places corresponding to the North and South seas of the 16th century. If I am right in my tracing of the route he did not mean exactly that, but either got mixed on account of the sinking streams or intended to convey information about this inland basin that has in some way become unintelligible.

The Mimbres sinks now in the ground; at that time it may have gone on and disappeared in a lagoon. It now flows, except in unusual seasons, no further than the town of Deming. But there is a probability that this region had, in former times, a somewhat greater rainfall than it has at present. The gradual drying up of the lakes about the City of Mexico is a fact, and it is at least possible that this diminution in rainfall has been felt further up the Sierra, even as high as New Mexico.

Two days, or eight leagues, beyond the Bermejo, Coronado arrived, about the 7th or 10th of July, 1540, at the first of the Cibola towns; the first installment of the reward for the long and dangerous journey. When the men at last beheld the insignificant village their wrath was justly great, and their maledictions fell heavily upon the man who had so persistently led them on with the gilded tale. The weary soldiers had no recompense but these curses, and like gamblers in a losing game they went forward in the hope that the next deal might bring better luck. If Marcos had the faintest spark of soul in his make-up, his remorse at beholding the dismal results of his misrepresentation must have well-nigh killed him. Referring to him in a letter to the Viceroy, Coronado says, "and to be brief, I can assure your Honor he said the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities, and great houses of stone, for although they be not wrought with turqueses nor with lime, nor bricks, yet are they very excellent good houses of three, or four, or five lofts

* Winship, 587. Ternaux, p. 370.

high."* Coronado was not vindictive; to spare the monk he sent him back to Mexico at the first opportunity.

Cibola is now famous, because it was the first group of Pueblo villages known to have been met with by Europeans. It has been located at Zuñi, at the Moquis towns and at Chaco Ruins, by various authors and students, but of late the site of Zuñi has been accepted as the true one by the majority of archæologists. My location for this group of towns is far removed from Zuñi, or, indeed, any site that has ever before been mentioned. I place it in the vicinity of the Florida Mountains in southern New Mexico.

This was probably the first group of permanent dwellings discovered within our boundaries. It is the key to Coronado's subsequent movements. The importance of giving it the right location will be apparent. Without an unimpeachable location for this first group of towns, early American history is defective.

When Coronado finally stood before the walls with his tottering army, he was naturally met by opposition. The Indians, unaware that they had been expected to give up all they owned to these dashing cavaliers and make them rich, seemed to hold the idea that they had a right to control their own property. But they had never seen white men before and did not understand justice. Some of the scouts of the tribe had met the army leagues back, and had brought an account of the approaching strangers to the governors and the war chief. These dignitaries doubtless had spent the whole night in discussing the proper thing to do, and when the dawn came and they climbed out of the kiba, they were determined to beat the unwelcome visitors back from their gates, just as their Aztec brethren had also resolved to do some twenty years before, and just as their Pueblo brethren and their descendants vainly continued to do through a century and a half after Coronado and his greedy army had passed away. Unlike the Aztecs, the Pueblos had arrived at no system of confederation, and while their resistance was often protracted and stubborn, it was not concerted, excepting for a time in the rebellion of 1680, and resulted invariably in defeat.

Coronado's men were anxious to attack the town on sight, and no wonder, as they expected to get something to eat within; and if there is anything a man will fight harder for than gold it is food when he is starving.

The General held them back, but finally when the priests joined in the request for permission to attack he gave the word, and for

* Hakluyt.

the first time the sky of New Mexico looked down upon the Red and the White in battle, a sight which presently was to become anything but novel. The assault was well planned, but suddenly "the cross-bowmen broke their bowstrings, and the arquebusiers at the same moment failed to act, because they were so weak and feeble that scarcely they could stand on their feet." So the Indians for a time had it all their own way, and after the method of Pueblo warfare, they showered large stones from above, doing much damage. Twice was Coronado knocked to the ground. His shining armor and helmet made him a target, for the Indians at once saw that he was the leader of the foe. Cárdenas sprang to his side and warded off the blows till the General could regain his feet. "I was more wounded than the rest," he writes, "not that I did more than they, or put myself forwarder than the rest, for all these gentlemen and soldiers carried themselves as manfully as was looked for at their hands."*

At length the natives were forced to yield, and Coronado occupied the town, to which he gave the name of Granada, because it suggested this city to him, and also in "remembrance of the Viceroy."

The Cibolans seem to have had no metals of any kind. They had turquoises and green stones referred to by Coronado as emeralds, which were probably nothing more than the beautiful peridots still found in that region. Though the town contained no dazzling riches, it did contain what, at the moment, was more important—a large supply of Indian corn. The famishing Spaniards found then some recompense for disappointment in the comforts of satisfied hunger. The Cibolans, too, appear to have had ideas about cookery, for Coronado says, "They eat the best cakes that ever I saw."

There has been a great deal of speculation as to the origin of the name Cibola, and many theories have been advanced. We have only to accept Coronado's plain statement to make the point clear. He says, "The Seven Cities are seven little villages, all having the kind of houses I have described. They are all within a radius of 5 leagues. They are all called the kingdom of Cevola, and each has its own name, and no single one is called Cevola, but all together are called Cevola."† It seems to me perfectly clear from this that the towns Coronado first came to were called Cevola, Cibola or Tzibola *by the inhabitants before* the Spaniards came. Of course, if we locate Cibola at the Zuñi site, then we must skirmish about to explain the name, but if we put the place where it seems to belong,

* Hakluyt.

† Winship, p. 558.

in the vicinity of the Florida Mountains, Coronado's statement may be accepted at its full value. The *Relacion del Suceso* says, referring to these towns, "the whole of this settled region is called Cibola."

"It is a little unattractive village, looking as if it had been crumpled all up together" (Winship, p. 483), says Castañeda, referring to the first village. The people fled and the army made themselves at home. Here Coronado made his headquarters and persuaded the natives to return. While waiting for the main army to arrive he gave his attention to reconnoitring the surrounding country. He visited all the Cibola towns and made himself familiar with the region. From here he saw the Rio Grande, and mentions the fact. He had information of a town called Acucu, and "beyond this town," he writes, "they say there are other small towns which are near to a river, *which I have seen*, and have had report of by the relation of the Indians." (Hakluyt; Winship, p. 560.) Now, even if we identify Acucu with modern Acoma, as is generally done, the river beyond it would still be the Rio Grande, therefore the river he had seen was the Rio Grande, and as it would be quite impossible to have seen this river from any point around Zuñi, and would be easy from an eminence near the Florida Mountains, we may conclude that he saw the Rio Grande from Cibola in the vicinity of these mountains during some of his rides.

As the approximate position I assign to Cibola agrees with this statement concerning a view of the river, it may be assumed as a working basis that the site was not far from the Florida Mountains, within 8 leagues of the Rio Mimbres. Coronado remained at Cibola from July to November, and therefore became pretty well acquainted with the locality.

News was brought of another province, called Tuçano, or Tusayan, lying about 20 leagues northwest of Cibola, and Don Pedro de Tobar was sent out there to investigate. He found the province similar to Cibola, but larger and better built. There he was told of a large river, still further off, in that direction, which he reported to the General on his return. Coronado was determined to explore the country, gold or no gold. He says: "I have determined to send throughout all the surrounding regions, in order to find out whether there is anything, and to suffer every extremity before I give up this enterprise." (Winship, p. 562.) "If all the riches and the treasures of the world were here, I could have done no more in the service of his majestie, and of your lordship." (Hakluyt; also see p. 560, Winship.) Coronado laid his plans

accordingly, and sent Don Garcia Lopez de Cárdenas, one of his boldest officers, to explore in the direction of the great western river reported by Tobar. Cárdenas accordingly proceeded to the Tusayan province, where he was well received, and where he obtained guides. Continuing in the northwesterly direction for twenty days from Tusayan, he reached the river. The banks were so high and steep that he appeared to be three or four leagues above the water. (Ternaux, p. 62; Winship, p. 489.) Those who have peered into the sublime depths of the Grand Cañon of the Great Colorado will at once recognize the sensation thus expressed by Cárdenas. One certainly feels leagues in the air as he stands on the brink of this mighty chasm (6,000 feet deep), which, for a distance of some 300 miles, can be crossed by even the sturdiest and most experienced mountaineers in but few places. There can be no question as to the identity of the cañon arrived at by Cárdenas, but there is a question as to the point he reached and the location of the Tusayan he started from.

Heretofore, Cibola having been placed at Zuñi, it was obligatory to put Tusayan at the modern Moquis towns, these being about the right direction, though *more than twice the proper distance away*. Tusayan was about 50 miles (20 leagues and 2.6 miles to the league) northwest of Cibola. The Moquis towns are more than a *hundred miles* northwest of Zuñi. For years I have not felt satisfied with the accepted statements regarding the sites of Cibola and Tusayan, and the more I looked into the evidence the more it seemed to me that a great mistake had been made. Captain Bourke placed Cibola at the Moquis towns, and Lewis Morgan put it at the Chaco Ruins, but these locations were more unsatisfactory than the Zuñi site, and so far as I know they have been given up by all the students of to-day. I finally felt that the Moquis towns could not be Tusayan, and that Zuñi could not be Cibola, and that a proper adjustment of the data without preconceived ideas would probably disclose an entirely new situation of all the 16th century towns. One of my first doubts arose over the length of time Cárdenas occupied in going from Tusayan to the brink of the cañon. He was twenty days, and for a man as energetic and daring as Cárdenas, travelling light, this was not a reasonable time. The usual day's journey was six or seven leagues, or $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 miles. This would give as the distance covered by Cárdenas between the Tusayan villages and the cañon about 350 miles. From the Moquis Oraibi to the cañon is about 75 miles in a straight line, and could be traversed in six or seven days with guides from there. Moreover, the

Moquis would have led Cárdenas toward the beginning of Marble Cañon, that is, in a more northerly direction to what is now called Lee's Ferry, at the mouth of the Paria, or, a little further up, to the old-time Indian crossing known after Escalante passed over it as "The Crossing of the Fathers." Here the walls are low, and Cárdenas could have crossed over and examined the other side.* At least the Indians would have mentioned the fact that the walls grew less toward the north, and Cárdenas would have also spoken of it. H. H. Bancroft, apparently ignorant of the topography of the region, gives a map, tracing the trail along the edge of the cañon to this low point.† Pedro de Sotomayor was the chronicler of this expedition, and at Cibola, Cárdenas gave Coronado a written report of the journey. So far as I am able to ascertain this has never been seen.

I am of opinion that Cárdenas started for the cañon from a point much, very much, further away than the present Moquis towns, and was guided by Indians who did not know the region of the Grand Cañon very well. I conclude that he must have reached the chasm somewhere between the Little Colorado and Diamond Creek, and probably between the latter and Cataract Creek. The *Relacion del Suceso* states (Winship, p. 575) that the river "comes from the northeast and turns toward the south-southwest at the place where they found it." This applies to the portion above Diamond Creek. Had it been that part at the mouth of the Little Colorado the deep cañon of this latter stream would certainly have been mentioned, for it is a striking feature. At the mouth of the Little Colorado, too, the river turns to the *north-west*, and not *south-southwest*. It is true that Cárdenas might have reached this stretch of cañon from the Moquis towns, but it is not likely that the Moquis would have taken him so far away to give him a glimpse of the cañon, when it would have been immensely easier to have gone up to the head of Marble Cañon on the great Indian highway to what is now Utah. The *Relacion del Suceso* (Winship, p. 574) says Cárdenas went only 50 leagues west of "Tuzán," but as the writer is not so reliable as Castañeda, I prefer the latter's estimate of 20 days. Twenty days of hard travel southeastward from the part of the Grand Cañon indicated above would put the starting point of Cárdenas at the site I give to

* The writer is well acquainted with the Grand Cañon country from personal inspection, having been a member of Powell's Colorado River Exploring Expedition in 1871-72-73, and having spent much time since in the contiguous regions.

† "Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming," p. 27.

Tusayan, in the neighborhood of Silver City, N. M., 20 leagues northwest of my approximate location of Cibola. This was not too far for him to have travelled in the 20 days. I have travelled easily in the West on horseback, with a pack mule, over a snowy and slushy road, more than 300 miles in 10 days, therefore it is not assuming too much to count Cárdenas's 20-day journey at, say 350 or 400 miles.

After Cárdenas returned from this Cañon river, nothing further was attempted in that direction (Winship, p. 490). It is probable, therefore, that neither the Moquis towns nor Zuñi were seen in 1540-42.

The costume of the Cibola women was much like that of the Moquis of to-day. Especially was the hair of the young women dressed the same. This is described by Castañeda thus, "their hair is coiled above the two ears in two wheels that resemble the puffs of a woman's headdress" (see original text, Winship, p. 450).* This is the peculiar style of hairdressing that has given to the Moquis girls the title, in the vernacular of the Southwest, of "side-wheelers." I have never seen it anywhere but in the Moquis towns. In Winship's monograph on Coronado are several pictures that show this unusual fashion, opposite pp. 539, 543 and 536. Its peculiarity renders it worthy of note, for if I am right about the location of Cibola, it shows a great similarity of the customs of the former population of southern New Mexico with those of the present Moquis, also indicated in Castañeda's other statements.

Coronado did not wish to proceed till he had news of the main body of the army approaching under Arellano. But having information of the province of Tiguex, and also of Cicuye, he sent Hernando de Alvarado with a company to reconnoitre that region. Tiguex, according to Castañeda, was "*toward the north*" (buelta del norte, p. 451, Win.) from Cibola about 40 leagues, with the rock of Acuco in between. Alvarado travelled five days to reach this Acuco, and three more to the Tiguex towns on the River of Tiguex, the Rio Grande. From Tiguex he went to Cicuye, where he met an Indian from further east, who was nicknamed "the Turk," because of a resemblance to the men of that race. This Turk told a marvellous tale of the country far eastward, which he

* Ternaux, p. 163, translates this: "et retroussent leurs cheveux derrière les oreilles en forme de roue, ce qui ressemble aux anses d'une coupe." The resemblance to the handles of a loving cup is at once apparent, but in the original it is "cofia"—coif. Winship has the Spanish text "cosia," but it looks quite as much like cofia in the MS.

called Quivira, and Alvarado took him along on the return to Tiguex, from whence he intended to inform the General of all he had learned. At Tiguex he found Cárdenas preparing winter-quarters for the army, which was now nearing Cibola, and here Alvarado waited for the General to arrive. Cárdenas executed Coronado's orders concerning quarters and clothing for the troops with great brutality, and in the course of his demands he burned one of the villages. The province revolted. Battles followed, and finally a siege which lasted fifty days. During this time all the Spaniards became established at Tiguex as headquarters, and Coronado paid a visit to Cicuye, laying his plans for explorations eastward to the rich Quivira that the Turk told about.

Cicuye being the easternmost of all the pueblos was the natural point of departure for the plains country. Cicuye was seventy leagues toward the east from Cibola (as I locate it the direction is rather N. E.), but only twenty-five leagues from Tiguex. Coronado examined the country pretty thoroughly before the siege of Tiguex came to an end.

The Tiguex people, who fled to the mountains, could not be induced to return while the Spaniards remained in the country, but all the other towns involved in the revolt surrendered, among them being several called Quirex. This group was seven leagues north of Tiguex. Tiguex being about 40 leagues north from Cibola,* fixes it about at San Antonio Station, and seven leagues north from this along the river puts Quirex on the site of modern Socorro. Later, while Coronado was pushing eastward, and the main army had returned from the east, Francisco de Barrio-Nuevo was sent from Tiguex to explore the upper river, while another party was ordered southward along the river. The latter reached a distance of eighty leagues or more below Tiguex. Barrio-Nuevo arrived at a town called Braba and Valladolid by the Spaniards. This was the furthest up the river, and was built on both sides with a connecting bridge made of squared pine timbers. It has been identified with modern Taos, but Taos is built on the Rio Taos, a small branch, while at Braba, Castañeda says: "The river is deep and very swift without any ford" (Winship, p. 511). "Tiguex is the central point," says Castañeda in speaking of *all* the villages (Ternaux, p. 182; Winship, p. 525), and Valladolid the last going toward the northeast.

* Winship translates the sentence: "tiguex quarenta leguas o mas la buelta del norte" (original text, p. 451. Winship), as "40 leagues or more to Tiguex, the road trending toward the north," p. 519. The three words, "the road trending," do not belong here, *buelta* meaning "toward." Ternaux translates this, p. 165: "Tiguex est situé vers le nord, à environ quarante lieues."

Now, if Tiguex was in the centre of the villages, and Valladolid to the northeast, it follows that Cibola, the first group, was southwest as much as Valladolid was northeast, and not west as it has been located; southwest then along the River of Tiguex, that is, on a line from Valladolid extended through Tiguex to the south. If Castañeda had meant that Cibola was due west of Tiguex he would have said so. But he says, "It is 130 leagues, ten, more or less, from the farthest point that was seen down the river, to the farthest point up the river, *and all the settlements are within this region.*"* That is, beginning on the Rio Grande at Valladolid, and measuring down along the stream 130 leagues, gives us the limits north and south, where all the towns they saw were situated. He says not a word about leaving the river abruptly and going westward 60 leagues to find Cibola (at Zuñi). ALL the towns were between Valladolid and the southernmost point they saw, 130 leagues along the river. This southernmost point was 80 leagues below Tiguex, and consequently Tiguex was 50 leagues below Valladolid. Counting from the location I have assigned to Tiguex at San Antonio, northward along the river, 50 leagues puts this Valladolid not at Taos, as it has heretofore been located, but about the site of Cochiti or San Ildefonso. And 80 leagues southerly along the river places the last point seen on the river about 20 or 25 miles below El Paso. Recapitulating, he says, "the settlements and people already named (Winship, p. 526) were all that were seen in a region 70 leagues wide and 130 long in the settled country along the River Tiguex." In other words, none of the settlements were more than 35 leagues from the river, and within the north and south limits of 130 leagues from the town of Valladolid. Ternaux translated this 30 leagues by 130. According to his rendering the area plotted on the map apparently took in Taos, but according to Winship's the area reaches only to Cochiti or San Ildefonso. Zuñi does not fall within the area at all. I have laid this region down on the accompanying map, the darker shading with outline continuation being the area according to Ternaux's translation, and the wider section that according to Winship. All the towns the Spaniards saw were within this region. Zuñi lies outside of it to the westward, and the Moquis towns, 100 miles or more *still further* northwest.

Cibola was the *first* province within this area but not on the river.† As the river makes a great bend eastward about opposite

* Winship, p. 525.

† That is, Cibola was the first and most southerly place they met with *coming up*, in this inhabited area, while Valladolid was the last to the north, and Cicuye the last in the easterly direction.

the location of Cibola, and the Spanish approach was from the southwestward, they did not investigate the lower portion of the river till after they had visited the upper part.

Forty leagues north of Cibola and central in this defined area was Tiguex. North of this again was Quirex, 7 leagues. These two sites have been variously placed by different investigators, ranging from Socorro for Tiguex, up to Bernalillo for the same town. Bandelier favors the Bernalillo site, and this has been generally accepted. It is, however, too far north according to my views.

Acuco, the town on the rock, was between Cibola and Tiguex, three days southwesterly from the latter. It has been wrongly identified with the modern Acoma because it was on a rock. This ought not to have had as much weight as it has had in the identification of the town. Cliffs and mesas were favorite building sites with the Pueblos, and the Spaniards frequently speak of towns built on a rock. These natural barriers, so common in the cliff-broken Southwest, were seized upon as safe building sites by the house-building Indians. Acuco, therefore, was a small village built on a precipitous mesa about 25 leagues north of Cibola and 15 southward from Tiguex, in the foothills 15 or 20 miles back from the river.

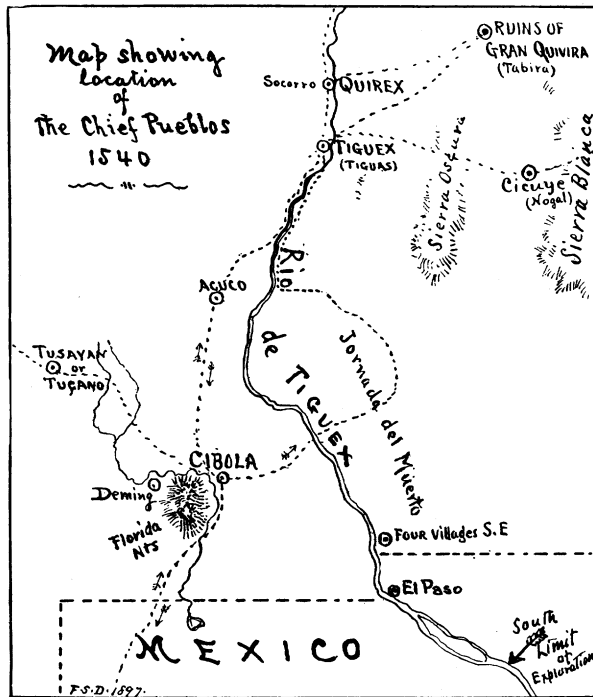
At Tiguex there was a spacious valley two leagues wide. Eastward from Tiguex, but not bounding this valley necessarily, was a snowy range. Ternaux put this range west.* Back at the foot of this range were seven villages, four on the plain and three on the skirts of the mountain.† Seven leagues north were the seven Quirex towns already noted. Forty leagues northeast was Hemes. (Winship translates this *northwest* in his English.‡) Four leagues north or east was Acha, and southeast, distance not given, was Tutahaco, with eight pueblos. I put Tutahaco a few miles below Tiguex, mainly east of San Marcial. After Arellano arrived at Cibola with the main army, Coronado ordered him in twenty days to

* Ternaux, p. 166. "Elle est bornée, à l'occident, par des montagnes tres-élevées," but the Lenox MS. has it east "a el oriente."

† This range was probably the Oscura combined, perhaps, with the Jicarilla and Sierra Blanca behind, which might appear to be part of the same mountains.

‡ Winship, p. 451. I will give here the original text of Castañeda, from Winship, p. 451, which I compared with the Lenox MS. and found correct. I draw lines between the sentences. Winship divides incorrectly and repeats 40 leagues.—"tiene a el norte a quirex siete pueblos a siete leguas | tiene a el nordeste la prouincia de hemez siete pueblos a quarenta leguas | tiene a el norte o leste a Acha a quatro leguas | a el sueste tutahaco prouincia de ocho pueblos." There is no punctuation in the original.

proceed to Tiguex by the *direct* road, that is up the western side of the river by way of Acuco, and, taking 20 men (Winship, 492), he went to this province of Tutihaco. It took eight days to reach it, and part of this time there was a great lack of water. He probably struck across the Rio Grande about east of the Florida range and passed up the Jornada del Muerto to Tutihaco. Thence he went up the river to Tiguex. The route is approximately given on the small map printed with this paper. At Tutihaco Coronado



heard that there were other towns still further down the river than he had been (Winship, p. 493), and these were probably the four villages seen later by the officer who went down 80 leagues below Tiguex, probably near the point where the Texas line cuts the Rio Grande. These four villages were southeast, though they were near the river, because the river makes a great bend to the east (Winship, p. 525). This passage has always been misunderstood, and the existence of the bend denied, because the other towns were placed too high up. The bend does exist, as any one can see by a glance at the map of New Mexico, and it is also a striking feature of the topog-

raphy. When Castañeda says in this case "southeast," he probably means southeast of Cibola.

There were seven villages along the road to Cicuye, which were under the rule of Cicuye. I have, however, been unable to fix either of them or Cicuye with any certainty.

Forty years after Coronado's exploration, Don Antonio de Espejo came up the Rio Grande from Mexico, and after passing a certain point met with a great many house-building Indians. This was probably the province of Tutihaco. Not far from this he came to a province he called Tiguas, in one of the towns of which he found statements "that Francisco Vasquez Coronado was in this province." * Six leagues further up the river he found a place called Quirex, which I identify with the Quirex of Coronado. Then northerly 14 leagues, he came to Punames, where there were five towns, the greatest being Cia. Then northwest five or six leagues to Ameies, where there were seven towns. Then westerly, 15 leagues, to Acoma, and further westerly, 24 leagues, to Zuñi (or Amé).

Admitting the identity of Espejo's Acoma with the Acoma of to-day, let us go backward on his trail from there and see what is the result. Easterly 15 leagues on a line with Zuñi, puts Ameies on the Puerco, near Los Cerros, where there are ruins, then five or six leagues southeast takes us to about Belen, and 14 leagues southerly from that place lands us close to the town of modern Socorro, or almost exactly on the site of the several Quirex towns of Coronado as I place them. Then the six or seven leagues south makes *Espejo's* Tiguas and *Coronado's* Tiguex identical. The Tiguas of Espejo and the Tiguex of Coronado were then the same place, and on the same site that I assigned to Tiguex, counting *up* from my location of Cibola. Tiguex, then, is pretty accurately located near the present station of San Antonio, a few miles north of San Marcial. Coronado and Espejo both found it there. Measuring again southward from Tiguex, the 40 leagues puts Cibola once more in the vicinity of the Florida mountains, and on a line with Tiguex and Valladolid. Espejo also states that Acoma was *northwest* of Quirex, and it has always been assumed that he made a mistake. Whenever the directions the early writers give do not coincide with modern theories, the early writers are asserted to be wrong. When Castañeda says there is a great eastern bend in the Rio Grande the modern authorities deny it, as it does not fit their ideas of where Coronado and the others ought to have gone. If Espejo or any other writer of that time makes a statement which does not fit our

* Hakluyt.

assumptions, we must either admit the discrepancy or find a solution other than the charge of error. Espejo states that Acoma was northwest of Quires, and so it falls according to my arrangement of the 16th century towns. I believe the location of Quires at Socorro (and Quirex also) to be correct, so that this and Tiguex, 7 leagues below, may safely be used as a base for other locations. Everything will probably be found to agree with this when properly understood; there are some points that must at present be left unreconciled, for example, Espejo's statement that he found at Zuñi some of the Indians that remained behind from Coronado's expedition, and also the legend that Estéban was killed at the site of modern Zuñi.* Just how these will eventually be adjusted to the site of Cibola in the Florida Mountain region it is impossible now to say. We must not lose sight of the fact that after Coronado's return to Mexico the results of his journey were well-nigh forgotten, and when Espejo went into New Mexico he had not the faintest idea of Coronado's route. The names Coronado gave rivers were forgotten; and the peninsula of California was called an island just as if Alarcon had not proved the contrary in 1540, and it was so charted on the maps for a very long period, fully a century. Finally Coronado's route was marked out to the Pacific Ocean. It is not safe, therefore, to place much reliance on statements outside of the authentic writers of Coronado's immediate period, so far as his movements are concerned. And as there are two copies of Espejo's report, even that must at present be accepted cautiously. It is plain that his original document has suffered at the hands of copyists in some points, notably in the name of Zuñi, which in one version is called Amé. Where he is exactly in accord with Coronado they check each other, as in the case of the location of the towns of Tiguex and Quirex. The reason that Acoma is not mentioned by Castañeda is that probably the Spaniards of his time did not see it. They appear not to have pushed far to westward of the river, except in the single instance of Cárdenas and Tobar, to the Grand Cañon and Tusayan, respectively. All the towns the Spaniards saw were within the area defined by Castañeda, but this does not prove that they saw all the towns in that area.

The arrival of the Europeans on this continent introduced several new diseases among the natives, which spread with astonishing rapidity and deadly effect. The races here were a fresh field, and these diseases were rapidly fatal. Small-pox and scarlet

* I am informed that there is another tribe called Zuñis, in N. Chihuahua, who sometimes range into New Mexico.

fever and measles were chief ones. These depopulated towns, and in conjunction with famine and the inroads of the wild tribes on one hand, and the equally savage European on the other, not to mention internecine wars, the poor Pueblo, earliest to cope with the whites, was driven to the wall.* There seems to have been a recoil towards the north, towards mountain and cañon fastnesses, which went forward with considerable rapidity about the end of the 16th century, and produced a new arrangement of the homesites of many Pueblos. It is evident then that we cannot place reliance on our present knowledge of the ethnographic condition of the Southwest prior to the 18th century. After the insurrection of 1680, more changes occurred, till finally the positions of the villages were not at all as they were in 1540. Even in 1540 there were ruins. Castañeda and other writers mention them. The forces were already at work, and had been at work probably for some time, that were changing the distribution of tribes. The occupation of towns and localities was also not so permanent as has been assumed. A change of site was frequently made for one cause or another, so that a ruin does not, and did not, necessarily mean that the former occupants had vanished from off the face of the earth. While not so shifting in their habitations as the migratory tribes, the Pueblos were nevertheless Indians and consequently not stationary.† Ruined structures are found everywhere, from mountain and cliff heights to the barren depths of the Grand Cañon,‡ where every little patch of available soil was in times past utilized. I am told that the Queres could not have been at Socorro in the time of Coronado and Espejo for the reason that they never lived as far south, but I answer that they might have lived anywhere so far as evidence goes before the insurrection of 1680, and the fact that both Coronado and Espejo found them on the site of Socorro in the 16th century is the best evidence obtainable on that point.

Various other villages are mentioned by Coronado, but their location is not vital to my argument, so I shall not try at this time to fix their positions, with the exception of Cicuye, the beginning of my Buffalo Plains Division of the exploration. Cicuye was 25

* Bandelier thinks the malarial character of the Mimbres may have had something to do with the abandonment of that valley.

† "With the exception of Acoma there is not a single pueblo standing where it was at the time of Coronado, or even sixty years later."—Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, p. 34.

‡ I have myself seen numerous ruins in the bottom of the Grand Cañon, and in the other cañons of the Colorado and its tributaries.

leagues* easterly from Tiguex. Striking an arc with this radius we find the location of this town limited to Gran Quivira Ruins, to the vicinity of Nogal or to the country in between. Pecos, the site heretofore assigned, is completely excluded, as it is altogether too far off. Castañeda speaks of a well-fortified town called Ximena, *between* Quirex and Cicuye, proving that there was a road that way. At present there is a ruin between Socorro and Gran Quivira that might have been this Ximena. It is possible that Gran Quivira was Cicuye, but it will take a careful examination of the ground to determine the situation of Cicuye with any degree of accuracy. Castañeda says of Cicuye, "It is square, situated on a rock, with a large court or yard in the middle, containing the estufas." (Winship, p. 523.) No spring of any kind has been found at Gran Quivira, yet at Cicuye in 1540 there was water in the centre of the town and Espejo speaks of it as half a league from the Vacas river. The Ruins of Gran Quivira lie on a hill or mesa, of gray limestone. It was still inhabited after 1600 (Bandelier, Part II., Rep.), and had it been the Cicuye of Coronado some word would have indicated it, probably, though not necessarily. Two churches, now in ruins, had been erected there, showing an early intercourse with the priests. Friar Luis, who was with Coronado, remained behind in Cicuye, but whether he influenced the natives much does not appear, as he was killed before any communication was again possible.

"A large pueblo exists at Nogal, about 25 miles north of Fort Stanton, near the Sierra Blanca" (Bandelier).† This may have been Cicuye. At any rate the pueblo must have been between this and Gran Quivira if it was not one or other, and it was probably on the headwaters of one of the streams like the Hondo, tributary to the Pecos. At Gran Quivira we should have to accept the theory of the disappearance of a large branch of the Rio Grande.

The special importance of locating Cicuye is in the fact that it was the last pueblo to eastward of the Rio Grande on Coronado's road to the buffalo country. It is therefore the key to the eastward march. It was probably fully 125 miles south of Pecos, the site heretofore assigned to it. The effect of such a southerly position for Cicuye would be to throw the eastern march of the army far south of any line heretofore suggested, and would explain the silence concerning the Canadian River, after crossing the Pecos.

Coronado left Tiguex for Cicuye, according to his own state-

* Winship, p. 503.

† Nogal is northwest of Fort Stanton.

ment, on April 23d, 1541, but Castañeda says May 5th. After a brief stay there they crossed mountains, Capitan or Jicarilla, for the plains were across mountains from Cicuye, and after four days' journey they came to a river with a large, deep current, which flowed down toward Cicuye, and they named this the Cicuye river. (Win., p. 504.) This was the Pecos River. They probably bore a course from Cicuye (Nogal location) about E. N. E., striking the river somewhere near the mouth of the Rio Hondo. They built a bridge here to cross on. The Indian called Turk was now leading them to the wonderful realm of Quivira, where riches in such abundance would be theirs, that the wealth of Aladdin would be poverty in comparison. In ten days the army was well out on the plains of Texas, and, besides the new animal, the buffalo, they met a new kind of Indian living in portable lodges made of buffalo hides. One of these Indians said he had once seen four men like themselves in this country, and the Spaniards decided that he referred to the Alvar Nuñez party. Castañeda states positively that "Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had passed through this place." (Win., p. 505.)

Food now began to grow scarce, except buffalo meat, of which they had a surfeit. They at length turned more to the southeast, and finally Coronado became convinced that the Turk was leading them astray. He therefore called a halt and had a council of officers. They were now probably somewhere in the vicinity of Glen Rose, Texas, having come about as far as Claude or Paducah before turning to the southeast, under the Turk's wavering guidance. This fellow, it seems, was only trying to lose them on the plains, so that the country might be well rid of them. The result of the conference was that Coronado should go on with 30 picked men, while the army under Arellano should make its way back by the most direct route to Tiguex. The army were not eager to go back empty-handed, and the General agreed to send messengers in eight days to let them know if they could come on. But the word that came was only a repetition of the order to go back. They could not conquer the hope that somewhere beyond these interminable stretches of weary plain there must be riches waiting to repay such toil and privation as they had endured. They had declared their willingness to die with the General, but he, man of wisdom, preferred to see them live. They had travelled 37 days, of 6 or 7 leagues a day, to reach this point, equal, they thought, to 250 leagues.* They went back by a more direct road in 25 days,

* The Spaniards used to count their steps in estimating distances. Even without such a method, it is well established that men acquire remarkable accuracy in estimating distances, and also a keen perception of direction.

besides stopping to hunt (Win., p. 509). After deciding to change the plan, they all went on one day further together, to a stream in the midst of good meadows, to camp till the matter should be fully settled. From this point, which was possibly the Brazos, Coronado continued his journey with the picked men northerly for more than 30 *short* marches in all (Jaramillo, Win., p. 589), through a well-watered country. After a number of days, not noted, but probably not less than 20, they came to an important stream, which they called the Saint-Peter-and-Saint-Paul, because of the day of their arrival. This was probably the Canadian at its most southerly bend. They crossed to the north side, opposite Shawnee Hills, and followed a bend northerly to the mouth of Little River, where they struck more easterly (N.E. by E.) across to the Arkansas, reaching it near the mouth of the Canadian. Here and in between the two large streams were the "settlements" the daring explorers had travelled so far to see, and Quivira, land of fabulous riches, was comprised in a few flimsy, straw-covered Indian villages. The false guide had been strangled before this. They turned back three or four days to a place where they secured dried corn, and picked fruits for the return. But they remained 25 days in this region of Quivira, "so as to see and explore the country."* They could now see mountain chains again,† and these were probably the Cavanial, Sans Bois and Boston ranges, all clearly visible from the vicinity of the mouth of the Canadian. Jaramillo says, "the country was a beautiful one. I have not seen a better in all Spain, nor in Italy, nor in France, nor in any country where I have been in the service of his majestie."‡ This points to the edge of the humid region in the neighborhood of the west line of Arkansas. It was very fertile country, the land "being very fat and black, and being very well watered by the rivulets and springs and rivers." It may have been with one of his exploring parties from here that Coronado reached the latitude he mentions, the 40th degree.§ As the latitude observations of the time were universally wrong, no reliance can be placed on this one of Coronado's. There is a difference between Jaramillo and Coronado as to the number of days' journey after leaving the main army. Coronado says 42. It is probable that Coronado added several days belonging to an inde-

* Coronado's letter, Winship, p. 583.

† Castañeda, Winship, p. 528.

‡ Ternaux's translation of Jaramillo.

§ "Coronado went 25 leagues through these settlements," *Rel. del Suceso*, Win., p. 577.

pendent trip he made on to the northward after establishing temporary headquarters at the place mentioned. He possibly reached, therefore, about the neighborhood of Fort Scott, leaving the 30 days of Jaramillo to mean the distance to the rendezvous. The river called the Teucara, heard of beyond, would then be the Missouri. At the rendezvous Coronado put up a cross bearing the words: "FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO, GENERAL OF AN EXPEDITION, ARRIVED AT THIS PLACE."

On the return trip they went as far as the Saint Peter on the trail they had followed out, but there the guides turned to the right and went by a more direct road. The main body on the return had met the Cicuye River 30 leagues below the bridge built before, and about 20 days (120 leagues) above the mouth of this stream.* This would be just below Seven Rivers. Thirty leagues up from Seven Rivers would place the bridge about at the mouth of the Hondo. The army followed up the river to the bridge, and then apparently some river to Cicuye. This must have been the Hondo. It could not have been the Cicuye, for that stream was four days from Cicuye.

Coronado prepared for further explorations the following year, but in a tilting bout being seriously hurt by a fall from his horse, he decided at length to abandon further explorations and take the army back to Mexico. Had he carried out his first intention, he would probably the next year have reached the Mississippi and the Great Lakes.†

"I have done all that was possible to serve your majesty," he writes to the emperor. "The best that I found is on the River of Tiguex, but it cannot be colonized, because it is more than 400 leagues from the Sea of the North and more than 200 from that of the South, and there is no means of communication."

It is said that the Viceroy was displeased with the barren result, but this seems to emanate from Castañeda, who was disgruntled by the outcome. There is no evidence to show that Mendoza treated him any differently than before (Win., p. 402).

Coronado resigned his office of Governor‡ of New Galicia in 1545, and is prominent no more in the history of Mexico, but this was probably because he was tired of exploring and office-holding.

* Cast., Win., 510.

† It is interesting to note that Mr. Jo. A. Wilson, of Lexington, Missouri, has in his collection a halberd found in that region, and supposed to have been dropped by Coronado's party.

‡ Coronado was the last military governor.

Coronado had conducted one of the longest and largest exploring expeditions in history, and he had done it successfully. If the regions were barren and the Indians poor, it was not his fault. Had there been in New Mexico a second Aztec realm, he would have conquered it and have administered the affairs justly and wisely. As it was, there was nothing to be gained by occupying the land at that time, and he displayed the best of generalship in retiring as he did. His name must ever hold a first place in the annals of the Southwest; and the numerous Christian churches to be found in use and in ruins throughout the scene of his conquest, testify to the zeal of his countrymen, who often consecrated the cross with their blood.

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To recapitulate, the route of Coronado, as I understand it, was as follows: through the Mexican Mountain Division from a point near the intersection of the 109th meridian with the coast, say from the place now called San Miguel, slightly east of north between the 109th meridian and the Sierra Madre, to the neighborhood of the Pass of Carretas, where the range was crossed. Through the Rio Grande Division from the neighborhood of the Pass of Carretas, northward to about the site of modern Cochiti or San Ildefonso (possibly as far as Taos) with Cibola near the Florida Mountains; Tusayan northwest near Silver City; Tiguex about at San Antonio Station; Acuco between Cibola and Tiguex a little west of the river at Cuchillo, or perhaps further west near Fairview; Quirex 7 leagues north of Tiguex, about on the site of Socorro; Tutahaco at San Marcial east of the river; Acha 4 leagues north or east of Tiguex, probably one of the Tiguex towns; Hemes 40 leagues northeast of Tiguex near the present Pecos ruins; Valladolid near the site of Cochiti, or Taos; Cicuye 25 leagues east of Tiguex near Nogal, or between this and Gran Quivira. The present Moquis towns, Zuñi and probably Acoma not seen. Through the Buffalo Plains Division from Cicuye (Nogal location) over the Sierra Capitan possibly E.N.E. or through the Cañada José and then E.N.E. to the Pecos near the mouth of the Hondo; then N.E. by E. to about Paducah, Texas; then S.E. to about Glen Rose, Texas; then N.E. by N. to the Canadian at the Shawnee Hills; then N.E. by E. to the Arkansas not far above the mouth of the Canadian; then a general reconnaissance of that region, as far north perhaps as Fort Scott.

Concerning the statement of Castañeda that Hemes was northeast of Tiguex, I would say that he was probably right. Winship

translates the word *northwest*, as before noted, through error. There is nothing to indicate that Castañeda made a mistake in writing northeast. The fact that the Jemez of to-day is northwest of Bernalillo, the site given by Bandelier to Tiguex, proves nothing, nor does the location of Espejo's Ameies prove any mistake. Espejo's Ameies was on the Puerco near Quelites, or Los Cerros, which would be north from my Quirex and Tiguex, but it is quite reasonable to assume that there was another settlement of the Jemez tribe in 1540 just where Castañeda states, 40 leagues *north-east* of my Tiguex, or about the neighborhood of the ruins of Pecos. The former occupants of the Pecos ruins were Indians who spoke the Jemez idiom, and were therefore of the same stock.* Why then should we think that Castañeda made a mistake, in this particular, except to help out a lame theory? H. H. Bancroft, as noted above, does the same thing when Espejo says Acoma was N. W. from Quires, this not agreeing with *his* location of Quires. He says therefore that *Espejo* made a mistake and should have said *Southwest*! In the distribution of the towns as I place them it is not necessary for me to accuse the *early* writers of mistakes. They were not such blunderers as certain charges would indicate, but on the other hand display an astonishing accuracy, where they relate their own experiences and observation. There is of course a possibility always that some mistakes were made in copying, but they seem to have been rare so far as the Castañeda MS. is concerned.

In conclusion I would add that I have done the best I can at this time to explain my locations of the 16th century pueblos of New Mexico and the route of Coronado. Being so entirely at variance with all previous investigators it is a difficult matter to elucidate, as I have been unable to use their labors to any great extent and have had to rely upon the writings of that period. Some of the documents that would throw light on the matter have never been found, but I hope in time to add to the present argument additional testimony, until the matter is conclusively settled.

* Bandelier Investigations, Part II, p. 129.